726 ger then returned to the Tachi and informed
202 them of the arrangements that had been made for
539 the battle. Tabsa was pleased.

The next morning they left and met their enemies at the appointed place. They fought for a long time, shooting at each other and dodging. Some of them ran away. Tabsa and Xenilal grappled with one another for a long time. But Tabsa became exhausted, for Xenilal was a very large man. Finally Tabsa got away and spoke from a distance. Neither of them had any more arrows; they worked on each other with necklace charms.

● 728 At last Tabsa said that they had better
539 quit fighting, now that all of their comrades had run away. Xenilal agreed. In reply to Xenilal's question, Tabsa promised that he would never fight again. The Tachi had been severely beaten. Then Tabsa and Xenilal conferred; they were friends now. Tabsa told Xenilal that he thought they should not fight with each other but should live peacefully ('inestam, literally "in a good manner"). This leader seemed to be a remarkable man. He said that soon he would arrange to have the Northerners and Southerners assemble, so that they could see each other peacefully. This remarkable man was going to make a feast in seven days. He went on to say that Xenilal and his people need be afraid of nothing, that they should bring their comrades and wives. Xenilal asked when the feast would be held and was told that it would probably take place in seven days. The final greetings were exchanged, Tabsa repeated his hope that they fight no more but live in peace, and the two leaders departed for home.

The people had missed them; they thought that their leaders had killed each other. When Tabsa arrived among the Tachi, his comrades were still there. They expressed their surprise at seeing him, saying that they had thought he was dead. He assured them that he had not been killed, though Xenilal was a very powerful (ṭipni') man. He then asked the people to assemble at his home and added that it would be best for them not to fight again. The Tachi people agreed. On being questioned about the date of the feast, he said that he would start preparations immediately on his arrival home.

After he had returned to his home, Tabsa announced that the feast would take place in seven days. He warned the people not to "talk about anything" when the Southerners and the
[202] Chunut arrived. Then Tabsa sent his crier (wina·tum) south to carry the report to all the Tinlinin, Bankalachi, and Koyeti. The crier invited these people to the feast and assured them that there would be no more fighting.

574 The people went to the feast; all the
728 Tinlinin and Bankalachi came there. As soon
539 as they arrived, they were stopped and presented with bead (liina') money. This is Indian money. They feasted heavily, eating fish and many ducks and wild geese. At the end of the feast the Southerners were again given bead money. Then Tabsa spoke. He said that he did not think it good for them to fight; he thought it better that they should see each other peacefully, just as they were doing now. Then he told them all to return to their homes and to live peacefully.

726 here [Chukchansi; Miwok and Mono too?] were fighting the white people. Some Indians were up on the mountainsides above the river. They got the whites down in the river canyon where they could roll rocks down on them. The whites could not see the Indians to shoot at them well, but they shot some anyway. The Indians got
727 some whites who were running away. They brought some home, made Indians of them. (There was at least one such.) This white man would fight with the Indians on their side. He was adult when they captured him; he was a soldier. He fought with the Indians after that, they said, and fought like the Indians.

That was about the end of the fighting.
● 728 These Indians didn't want to fight any more. The whites got pretty thick. A captain [Major
648 Savage?] came up from below with a group of white people. They gathered the Indians down this side of Fresno River and took them down to this [east] side of Madera where they gave them something to eat, flour, beef, etc., made them fight no more.

The chief that brought the whites up was Savage. He took the Indians down and gave them food. [J.R. doesn't know how long he kept them down there.] He promised them, before he died, he would give them land up here where they lived, what land they liked. They would stay there and keep the land. It would be the Indians' own home. He would give them maybe a wagon and two horses, and a plow and a harrow, and harness. They could work the horses, plow, etc. But he got sick and died. He was buried right there.[83]

He promised the Indians that, although maybe he would die, they would get these things after he died. He was going to give the Indians lots of money. But they didn't get it. Some white fellows found out. He [Savage] said to the Indians that all this land, California, belonged to the Indians. This was all written. A lot of judges have it written down that way now. But the Indians can't get it [the money] yet. They are giving the Indians a little pinch, out of the money belonging to the Indians.

About twenty years ago a lawyer got information from some whites. He heard that the Indians had this money down there, and got them to contribute to pay for his going down and fighting to get it for them. But he hasn't got it yet.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

Daily Round

512 People rose before sunrise summer and winter, said N.W. If there was no meat to eat -- sometimes there wasn't -- the men went out to catch a rabbit or whatever could be quickly
[252] got. On their return, the meat was cooked and eaten with acorn mush.

264 All informants said that all members of a
512 family present ate simultaneously at meals.

[83] Savage was killed by a white man in a personal quarrel (Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite, 285).

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Chiefs always decided matters of intertribal relation but on the powers of chiefs in intertribal wars we have little concrete data. On the whole the Yokuts and Western Mono tribes were peaceful rather than warlike. A few organized raids on villages are reported from the plains region but in the foothills only sporadic, unsystematized outbreaks took place. In such hostilities as occurred there were no war captains other than a man who took leadership upon himself or by general consent, because of his natural abilities as a leader and marksman. Good hunters took up arms when necessary simply as persons who were skilled in handling weapons. A typical account of intertribal hostilities and the chief's minor rôle in them is the following:[40]

The Wobonuch (WM) and Entimbich (Y) have always been friendly. Long ago unfriendly relations existed between these two tribes and those on the north fork of the Kaweah river, chiefly the Waksachi (WM) and Wukchumni (Y), whom the Wobonuch refer to collectively as the Pasuaj. One time some Entimbich women were out gathering seeds on Mill Flat creek. Some Pasuaj came over there and killed all but one woman just for meanness. The woman who escaped ran to a Wobonuch village, Kadawinao, and told what had happened.

The Wobonuch men gathered together. A few of them started southwest toward Aukland (Pasuaj territory). There they met a young man and woman. Now there had been two intermarriages between the Wobonuch and Pasuaj and these young people were the respective offspring. In the avenging Wobonuch party were relatives of the pair. As they met they cried "Cousin!" to each other at once. Then a long parley began. Some of the Wobonuch said that the couple were Pasuaj and had to be killed, but the relatives protested. The irate Wobonuch said they should be killed no matter who they were. They finally won out by threatening to kill the Wobonuch relatives of their own party. Then they killed the young couple and returned home.

Soon a Pasuaj named Wasomai, and his brother and sister, came and set up a camp near Taobin. The Wobonuch camp, Nimaiawe, was about two miles off. A trail from it passed near the Pasuaj camp. An old Wobonuch man was traveling along this trail. The Pasuaj brothers shot at and wounded him. He succeeded in reaching Nimaiawe. He told what had happened to him. The best men were all off hunting deer. The chief (Pinoa?) sent out winatums to bring them in.

The Pasuaj brothers knew by this time that they had a war on their hands, so Wasomai got out by an obscure route and went for help. He returned with a lot of his people. The Wobonuch had come over from their village and the two parties began to shoot at each other from behind trees and rocks. The fight went on for several days. The Wobonuch lost four or five men. At last the Wobonuch chiefs decided to call a truce. They called a meeting of the chiefs on both sides by sending winatums (who were protected at all times) into the Pasuaj camp accompanied by the Pasuaj who had previously married into the Wobonuch

[40] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter. This war occurred in the childhood of Supana, a grandfather of George Dick, who was a very old man when Dick was a boy. 'Merican Joe said it occurred "long before the round dance [Ghost dance of 1870]." It probably took place at least seventy-five years ago.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

622 648 728

tribe. The chiefs talked the matter over and a truce was settled. Immediately a dance was held which tribes from both sides, i.e., Wobonuch, Entimbich, Waksachi, and Wükchumni, attended. This was the first social intercourse between the tribes of Dunlap valley and those of the Kaweah river drainage. They have kept up friendly relations ever since.

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The Wobonuch had no war leader or captain: at Taobin there were two guards who stayed on the trail where it came in between two big rocks. There was a narrow approach of this sort on each side of the village. When strangers appeared these guards would go out to meet them and ask their business. If strangers came along quickly, minding their own business and behaving as if they had some purpose, they would not be harmed, but if a man were seen lurking about in the bush he would be shot at once.

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The Chunut informant says that occasional intertribal wars occurred but that there was "no special man to lead the fight."[41] She added that chiefs never led out. Any man who was good at fighting would lead the hostilities. Such a man was likely to have raven as his dream helper.

In warfare, then, the chiefs had no active part, but functioned in their traditional rôle of advisors or judiciaries whose decisions were accepted by common consent.

CEREMONIAL DUTIES

622

The chiefs had certain ceremonial duties which informants seemed unable to define clearly. At apparently all public functions the chief made a short speech. Informants sometimes call this a "prayer." He always told the assembled people what the ceremony was to be and why they were making it, but specific remarks for individual occasions the informants could not or would not give.

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The most important speech made by the chief was that at the annual mourning ceremony. This was spoken on the last (sixth) night of the celebration during the "cry" ritual. Among the Wobonuch the chief addressed the mourners at the ceremony just before the destruction of the images of the deceased; "he told them what they were doing and why, and he told them to quit worrying now. 'This is the end of your feeling bad.' "[42]

The Choinimni informant said that the chief made a speech at the cry ceremony but "couldn't remember" what it was about. Another informant, Michahai-Waksachi, said he would repeat what the chief said in this speech "but my language is too short." As a matter of

[41] Josie Alenso.

[42] 'Merican Joe, informant, George Dick, interpreter.